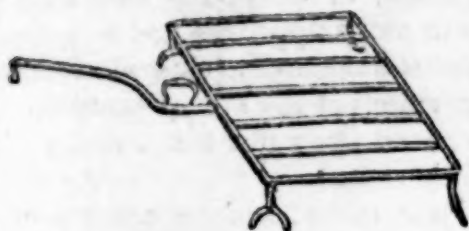


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, 19TH JULY, 1828.

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Because 'tis lordly not to pay;

QUAKERS and Aldermen in state,
Like Peers, have levees ev'ry day
Of duns attending at their gate.

A baited Banker sore desponds,
From his *own hand* foresees his fall:
They have his soul who have his bonds;
'Tis like the writing on the wall.

How will the caitiff wretch be scar'd,
When first he finds himself awake
At the last trumpet, unprepar'd,
And all his grand account to make?

SWIFT: *Run upon the Bankers.*

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

On the great good to the People in general, and especially to the People of Scotland, which will arise from his measure relative to the small Notes.

Barn-Elm Farm, 14th July, 1828.

MY LORD DUKE,

It was my intention to address you, this week, on the **END**, or, what I think will be the end, of the paper-money affair; to lay before you, in detail, what I think will be its *last workings*, and to suggest, *while we have time, the means of bringing the country out of confusion, without consequences very, very fatal*. But there is no very great cause for haste here: in all probability, this subject will suffer no injury from a week or two of postponement. For as long as wheat shall continue to be higher than four, or *four and sixpence*, the Winchester bushel, you will not listen to my prescriptions: when it comes down to about that mark, you will all listen; and happy for the coun-

try will it be, if you *act* on, as well as hear, the advice.

In the meanwhile, I owe it to you and to the public, to produce the proof that I have in my possession, that the measure which you have persevered in with regard to small-notes, and especially Scotch small notes (and which I verily believe no other man, now in either House of Parliament, could have persevered in); I owe it to you and to the public to produce proof, that this measure is one of the most wise and most beneficial that ever was adopted?

I am about to insert here a letter from Scotland, which, though in a humorous and, apparently, fabulous strain, does, I am assured, and I firmly believe, contain the relation of a real fact. This letter, the truth of the statements of which has been vouched for to me, in a letter written to me by a Scotch gentleman in London, who tells me that he can swear to the truth of those statements; this letter, together with another that will follow it, cannot fail to add, if possible, to the strength of the resolution that you expressed, to put an end to the one-pound notes, those instruments of oppression the most galling on the industrious part of the people, while they are the cause of incessant danger to the state. Merely as a *piece of writing*, this letter would be worth your perusal: its Scotch gravity (dated, too, on *Sabbath morning*) is exquisite; but it contains *truth* the most important; and you may, from it alone, gather how popular is the measure, to which you have had the courage to adhere.

“ARBROATH, *Sawbeth Mornnin*,
June 22d, 1828.

“DEAR WILLY,—You are *commin* to our help at last: we, in this country, have been *lang, lang* in shackles; not of iron, or steel, or *ony iether* metal; but we have, for nearly a hundred years—we, and our fathers, and our fathers' fathers, been tied together, hand and foot, by *notes*.
“Now, Willy, I must tell you a

C

“ story. In the year ninety-three, my
 “ uncle, *Andrew Wilkie*, merchant, Ar-
 “ broath, was about to set out for Rot-
 “ terdam, where, by an article he could
 “ purchase there, he could turn his
 “ *twall-pennies* into a *groat*. Before
 “ his departure, a meeting took place
 “ of all the clan of Wilkie in the county
 “ of Forfar. My uncle *Tam*, and my
 “ auntie *Tibby*, the *twa* great oracles of
 “ the *faemely*, determined that uncle An-
 “ drew should go. This expedition, by
 “ which *twa* hundred and *fufty* pounds
 “ were to be made a *thoosand*, was well
 “ canvassed; and, amongst other deter-
 “ minations of the wisdom of my ances-
 “ tors, it was agreed, that, in the trou-
 “ blesome times of the French revolu-
 “ tion, it would be better for *uncle An-*
 “ *drew* to draw *gowden guineas* out of
 “ his *cosh cruddat*, than *Banck nots*, as
 “ *mabie* the Dutchmen *wadna* like *nots*.
 “ Application was accordingly made to
 “ the agent to the Bank, to write by the
 “ first post for *twa* hundred and *fufty*
 “ *gowden guineas*. In the mean time,
 “ my uncle *Andrew* provided himself
 “ with a dozen pair new hose, and other
 “ articles of substantial dress; and,
 “ amongst them, a pair of new corduroy
 “ *breeks*, with large leather *pouches* to
 “ *haud* the *gowden guineas*; my auntie
 “ *Tibby* observing, that when *uncle An-*
 “ *drew* clapped his hand on his *pouch*,
 “ the Dutchmen would hear the *guineas*
 “ clink; and, that the size o’ his *breeks*
 “ *wad* let them *ken* there was better
 “ *gear* there than *nots*.

“ *Sawbeth’s* post arrived; and uncle
 “ *Andrew*, anxious to set out for Hol-
 “ land, went to the agent after the kirk
 “ *cam oute*, to inquire if the *guineas*
 “ were *commin*: the agent had *nae* an-
 “ swer from the *Banck*. *Monnanday’s*
 “ post arrived, but *nae wird* o’ the *gowd*.
 “ *Tiesday* and *Widdonsday’s* post ar-
 “ rived, but the agent heard *naething*
 “ *frae* the *Banck*. The Scotch, *Willy*
 “ *Cobbett*, are very patient. *Foorsday’s*
 “ post brought the answer for uncle, but
 “ not the *gowd*: it brought a *foogæ* war-
 “ rant to a *WRITER* (attorney), with in-
 “ structions to apprehend uncle *Andrew*,
 “ at the instance of the *twa kaetioners* to
 “ the *Banck* for uncle *Andrew’s* *cosh crud-*

“ *dat*: for, you must know, that every
 “ one who obtains a cash credit with
 “ any of our Banks, or their agents, give
 “ the bond, in addition to their own, of
 “ two or more approved and responsible
 “ persons as security (cautioners) for the
 “ repayment of the money (*nots*) that is
 “ advanced upon this blank cash credit,
 “ as it is called.

“ *Puir uncle Andrew* never went to
 “ Holland: the *WRITER* (attorney) sent
 “ him to the *Tolbooth* (jail at Edin-
 “ burgh), upon the *foogæ*: and the fa-
 “ mily of the *Wilkies* have ever since
 “ preferred *nots* to gold! *Auntie Tibby*,
 “ who is now very *auld*, has, notwith-
 “ standing, preserved the corduroy *breeks*
 “ with the large leather *pouches*; for,
 “ she says, the *nots, mabie*, may go out
 “ of fashion, and THEN the large leather
 “ *pouches* will be very convenient to
 “ *haud* the *gowd*.

“ *MARY HUME*, shopkeeper, *Montrose*,
 “ and *mither o’ JOSEPH*, was one of the
 “ bail to release my uncle *Andrew*; and
 “ as *Joseph* was then at *haeme*, you may
 “ call upon him, in one of the squares of
 “ your *muckle toon*, and he will tell you
 “ a’ the rest o’ the story.

“ *Mr. Tamson* has told your *Parlia-*
 “ *menters* in London, that we Scotch
 “ *boddies* prefer paper to gold. Don’t
 “ believe him, *Willy Cobbett*; he is a
 “ *leer*. If your Bank of England would
 “ send, and why should they not, its
 “ *brenches* to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dun-
 “ dee, and Aberdeen, and give us the
 “ *REAL* option to look our beloved *Sove-*
 “ *reign* in the face on gold, instead of
 “ handling Scotch *nots*, without the fear
 “ of the *foogæ*, every Scotchman, from
 “ the *laird* to the *cotter*, would wear
 “ large leather *pouches*, and it *wadna*
 “ be thought a disgrace to be big about
 “ the thighs.

“ Look up, *John Knox*, *frae’mang* the dead;
 “ Look up, and *shak* your *auld* grey head:
 “ Look up, the *nots*, can they be fled,
 “ And *gowd* the go?

“ There’s *Willy Cobbett* and the Duke;
 “ They’re *baith* for *gowd*, and curse the *Rook*;
 “ It’s time that Scotchmen, in a nook,
 “ *Haud fast* the *gowd*!

“ *Guide* day, *Willy Cobbett*, till



"another opportunity.—Your obedient
servant, "AUDEM DONALDSON.

"ARBROATH, *Sawbeth mornnin*,
22d June, 1828.

"GLOSSARY.

"Twall-pennies—one penny sterling, is 12
pennies Scotch.

"Fourpence.... is a groat.

"Foogæ warrant—fugæ warrant, or, a writ
of *ne exeat regno*.

"N. B. Asking a *Banck* for gold, is, in
Scotland, a *prima facie* case, that a man
means to *depart the kingdom*."

Another Scotch correspondent informs me, that, at another place in Scotland, a respectable small manufacturer "was actually banished from Scotland for urging a bank to give him gold for *nots*." And, I repeat most solemnly, that two Scotch mechanics informed me, in 1823, that, for urging a demand for gold, they were taken up by the police, and detained some time, and got no gold at last. The letter of the last-mentioned correspondent, who lives in London, and who gives me *his name and place of abode*, is in the following words:

"SIR,—Living within the sound of
Bow bells, and having been the con-
stant reader of your Register for the
last twenty years, there is no subject
you have touched upon that gratifies
me more than your observations upon
my countrymen, the Scotch bankers,
and our native *nots*. I am very glad
to see you have a correspondent at
Arbroath; because there is a tale told
there, as connected with asking to ex-
change *nots* into gold, that ought to be
told; and, if publicity is given to that
story, it is probable it may bring to
light another story of a similar sort,
which happened at another place, from
which a respectable small manufac-
turer was *actually banished* from Scot-
land, for urging a bank to give him
gold for *nots*. The agitation of this
Scotch banking system will do great
good, particularly to the Scotch them-
selves, who, generally speaking, have
the same respect for their bankers, as
prisoners have for their gaoler: they
dread, hate, and despise them."

And this, my Lord Duke, is the far-

famed and eternally eulogized system of
Scotch banking! No wonder that "MA-
LAGROWTHER" was called forth and hired
to threaten the Government with *open*
rebellion, as he actually did, if a law
were passed to put an end to small notes
in Scotland. It was high time for the
Government to put an end to this system
of terror and of tyranny, and it has
adopted an effectual way of accomplish-
ing the object; namely, banishing one-
pound notes from England, though the
same law ought to have banished them
from Scotland and Ireland by *direct*
means. However, the indirect will do;
for, if gold be the *currency of England*,
as it will and must be after April next,
the Scotch people will not long labour
under this tyrannical and barefaced rob-
bery.

The Scotch bankers asserted, in their
evidence, that the people *preferred* the
notes to gold; but, at the very moment
when the audacious pamphlet appeared,
throwing out the menace of *resistance* on
the part of Scotland, the people of PAIS-
LEY sent a petition to the House of Com-
mons, *praying for a gold currency*.
These were poor manufacturers, who
could not be poorer, and whom the ven-
geance of the bankers could not reach;
but, my Lord Duke, the same feeling
animated a vast majority of the people
of Scotland, especially the people in
trade, who have actually been the mere
agents of the banks, collecting *profits* for
them and not for themselves; and, never
did Minister do a people a greater favour
than your present measures, as to this
matter, will do the oppressed people of
Scotland, who have, by sets of greedy
paper-money makers, been actually
withdrawn from the protection of their
sovereign.

Nor has it been in Scotland only that
this tyranny has existed, and still exists.
In Ireland it has been and is much about
the same; and, in England, *very little*
better, especially in parts *distant from*
London. The Rooks here hold the
farmers and traders, and even the clergy
and land-owners, not in the bonds of
"*cash-credits*," but in those of bills,
personal bonds, mortgages, deposits of
deeds, and of various other sorts. Only

think of a fellow making paper-money, and, by that means, *without being worth a shilling in the world*, getting a mortgage on a man's farm, and, finally, foreclosing and actually taking it away from him! And this has been the case in thousands of instances. It is no justification to the Government to say, *that it is the borrower's own fault*: it is not his own fault any more than it is his fault to drink poison that a big brewer may put into his accursed beverage. The law interferes here, and why not in the case of bank-notes! It prohibits the big brewer to use the poisonous drugs, and even to have them in his possession: and why, in a matter of an importance far transcendant, are the people to be left without protection from the law? Never, until these latter days, were the people thus abandoned to the insatiable maw of avarice. The King was the maker of money for all men; and, when avarice began to put in use its invention of *notes*, the law came and forbade these to be under the amount of *five pounds*, which law was in force until the disgraceful year 1797.

The Rag-rooks in England have not been so *barefacedly* tyrannical as those in Scotland: they have not been able to *combine* so completely: the affair here was too large for that: there were too many men independent of their power, and too many of unbending tempers, to permit them to form a combination like that in Scotland; but, they have tyrannized to a great extent, and especially over the little farmers and traders, with regard to whose affairs they have exercised a control and a *surveillance* nearly equal to those exercised by their brethren in Scotland. They have had their *runners* to look after the shopkeepers' *stocks* and to watch the state of farmers' *ricks* and *mows*: the flail has not been permitted to give many strokes without their knowing *the reason why*. These runners are seen, even yet, in all the *fairs* and *markets*, dogging both the buyers and the sellers; watching all their movements, and almost making them "stand and deliver" upon the spot. In many cases the Rooks have been, and are, *big brewers* or *gin-distil-*

lers. Judge, my Lord Duke, of the quality of the stuff which the slaves under them have been compelled to retail! I know one market-town, which has in it *twenty* public houses, *seventeen* of which are the property, or held in lease by, one band of *Quakers*, who are the only *bankers* of the town, and who are also *brewers* and *spirit-merchants*! They take a *bond* from each of the *seventeen* poor publicans who rent under them, binding him to retail no beer or spirits *not got from them*; and I have been assured, that they make these wretches pay *forty per cent.* more than the stuff could be purchased at of other persons. If Sir JAMES GRAHAM had got his *committee*, I was resolved to apply to it to receive evidence of these facts. Here is a whole town and neighbourhood given up to be devoured by these ravenous Rooks. In many, very many, other cases, the Rooks have been *attorneys*! Oh, God! What man's means or estate could resist powers like these united. In not a few cases the Rooks have been *magistrates*, county as well as corporate. Is it not to set reason and nature at defiance to affect to believe, that the people could have any chance of happiness under such a system?

Men like Ministers, who never see nor hear any body but the rich and those who think that *all is well*, because it is *well for them*; men like you, my Lord Duke, who cannot possibly see any thing but the prosperity, the signs of which are blazing around you, can have no idea of the oppressions exercised on the people by the Rooks, in the parts *distant from the metropolis*. If, in the course of your military life, it have happened to you, as it has to me, to see a cat squatting down and spreading out her claws upon a parcel of *cock-roaches*, you must have observed how the poor affrighted creatures all endeavour to take shelter *under her belly*, and how they thus escape, while she gluts her maw with those on the *outskirts* that come in contact with her *claws*. Thus the people, in all countries, where mis-rule of any kind exists, fare less badly as they approach the *seat* of the mis-rule. The people of London have known comparatively little of the

tyranny of the Rooks: they are too numerous and too thickly packed to be watched and singled out: they have had no idea of the slavery of their fellow subjects in the country; and they have, therefore, felt little for them.

And, my Lord Duke, what must have been the power of the Rooks with regard to the *political* conduct and even political opinions of men! I have known scores, yes, scores of men, who have actually been refused loans by the Rooks, *because they read Cobbett's Register*! Judge, then, to what an extent this tyranny has been carried. To be, or to be thought to be, a reformer, has been sure to expose the party to the vengeance, often the ruinous vengeance, of these usurpers of the King's greatest prerogative. This tyranny has, however, worked for good in many cases. It has made a great many men, farmers as well as traders, keep aloof from all Rooks, *rely upon their own solid means*, and live with *great frugality*; and these men, many of whom I personally know, in every part of England, now *laugh at the coming storm*, and enjoy, with me, the confusion of the Rooks, their abettors and their slaves.

Some Ministers have, I dare say, said, that, if the Rooks ruined men for *reading Cobbett's Register* and for being *Reformers*, they were good Rooks, and merited the *favour of the Government*. Good for a while, my Lord Duke; "*strength in the beginning, but weakness in the end*;" for, at last, the Rooks, by the use of the very paper-money which gave them the power to check the circulation of Cobbett's Register and to ruin men for being reformers; *by the use of that very paper-money*, the Rooks have acquired the power of *shaking the Government itself*; for shaken it was, when we were, according to its own confession, brought to within *forty-eight hours of barter*, which means a dissolution of society and a beginning anew; and, let me beseech you to believe, that the danger of *shaking* is not yet passed away. In this case, as in all others, a just God has decreed, that evil deeds shall, in the end, bring their own punishment; and that the oppressed, if not im-

patient or slavish, shall triumph over their oppressors. How many, many thousands of virtuous and patient and steady men, in this kingdom, will feel the truth of, and exultingly say AMEN to, that sentiment!

Before I conclude this letter, I must, in justice to you as well as to the people, and to my readers in particular, look back a little to the year 1826, when the *English Small-note Bill was passed*. A circumstance occurred, at this time, which must have convinced any man of common sense, that there existed, in fact, no such thing as a *convertibility* of paper into gold on demand. The old law was, that, if any one refused to give gold or silver for a note under 5*l.* the refusing party was to be brought before a Magistrate, and if he did not pay within three days, have his *goods seized and sold* to pay the amount. This was, too, the law of 1797. But when, in 1826, it was proposed to revive this *summary process* by a clause in the act of that year, the bankers all cried aloud against it, and said, that *no man would be a banker under such a law*! Why not? Many men had been bankers under that law for a great many years. Why not? when, to avoid the process, the banker *had only to pay in gold or silver on demand*: he had only to *obey the law*. But this was precisely what he wished not to do: he wished to retain the power of refusing, with impunity, payment to poor men *unable to go to law with him*! Flagrant as this was, the then ministry had the culpable weakness to yield to it; the clause was rejected; and the poorer classes have remained ever since exposed to the insolent injustice of these harpies. The Ministers proposed to make the measure general *for the whole kingdom*, as was pointed out by reason and justice and even common sense. But, the Scotch bankers, aided by those of England, who thought that they, by means of the Scotch notes, should, in the end, preserve their own, obtained an exception for Scotland and Ireland. This was very weak on the part of the Ministers, who actually abandoned their own conviction in consequence of the clamours and menaces of the Scotch; and

these menaces, to which *you*, I hope and believe, would never have yielded, were the most audacious that ever were thrown in the teeth of any government. How many men, how many scores of men, have been ruined and brought to an untimely grave, on the charge of *sedition language* and *incitements* and *designs*, not a tenth part so flagrant as those in the pamphlets of "MALAGROWTHER!"

The resistance was made "in behalf of the *people* of Scotland"! It was "the *people* of Scotland that were about to be *robbed* of their currency"! And Mr. CURTEIS, who, about two months ago, talked of a *motion for a repeal* of the bill of 1826, observed, that the Scotch *people* SAVED their currency by coming forward, "*man, woman and child* in its defence"! Oh! it was a great shame, my Lord Duke, that the Ministers did not, upon that occasion, obtain correct information relative to the treatment of the Scotch *people* by the Rooks, and relative to the *feelings* of that people on the subject. If they had obtained this information, they would have prevented all the trouble that you have now experienced. Of all his subjects none stood so much in need of the King's protection, against this monstrous oppression, as the middle and lower class of the Scotch; and none will be more cordially grateful to you for the measure in which you have so laudably persevered.

If any thing, coming from the partizans of paper-money after the panic of 1825 and 1826, could surprise one, it would be the *praises* bestowed, in the House of Commons, and particularly by Mr. HUME, on the *American* banking system—a system of open, and even *avowed* fraud. The system does not produce *panics* there, because the fraud is so open that it deceives nobody. The notes *pass*, sometimes at a *discount*, and sometimes not: nobody *confides* in any bank. There will always be people to *horrow* any thing that will pass at any rate; and, therefore, if the government permit it, there will always be people to *lend* that which costs them nothing, and by the means of which lending they get hold of something of real value.

Then, there are *several separate governments*, trying to surpass each other in "prosperity," the general government having no restraining power in this respect; but always taking care to be *paid all its own taxes in hard dollars*. It thus protects itself; but the *people*, happy as they are on the score of taxation, are scourged most cruelly by the wickedness or folly of the State-Governments, in permitting the infamous swindling of the banks, which *all break in their turn*. In 1819, there was a QUAKER, named JACOB BARKER, at New York, who had a bank there, and also one at Newark, a town in New Jersey. His notes of one bank were signed with *red ink*, and of the other with *black*. He broke at one, and did not break at the other; Jacob's *red notes* were good, while the black ones were worth only *one dollar for five*; and in this way I, as well as many of my neighbours, took them and passed them! And, to make the thing complete, he used, at his red-note shop, to *discount his black notes*; and then, he would, and did, *discount his red notes for dollars*! But, in the midst of all this, no panic comes to endanger the government, because the notes pass for a while at a discount, and they then *die away by degrees*; so that no *alarm* is ever excited; and as to a "*run*" upon a bank, no such thing is ever heard of; because there is not the least idea of ever getting *hard money* out of it, when once its notes begin to fall in reputation.

Dreadful, however, is the havoc of private fortunes made by this system. Men's farms are frequently taken from them by scoundrels who never possessed a shilling of their own. Their practice is to lend their paper, before it begins to be at a discount, to farmers, or owners of houses, and to take, as security, a mortgage with a *judgment entered up*; so that the bankers can, at any moment, seize on the property; and this has been done, in thousands of instances, while the borrowers were *ready to pay off the mortgage in the notes of the lenders*; but which notes, become worth nothing, they had to keep, while they had to surrender their estates! In short, this is the

great scourge of the United States. The legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, wishing, in 1816, to put an end to those evils, passed a law to make all bank-notes, issued in future, *worth nothing*; that is to say, to make them *no evidence of debt*, and giving the holder *no legal claim* upon the issuer. This was expected to deter people from taking bank-notes, and, of course, to put an end to the swindling. It had an effect *precisely the reverse*. New banks instantly started up; and, in one particular county, called *Fayette County* (at about 250 miles from Philadelphia), the swindlers, who were chiefly Scotchmen and Englishmen, stripped no small part of the farmers of their estates. The villains themselves were compelled to decamp; but they had transferred their title to the property, and they *left the law to take its course*; and thus were hundreds of families totally ruined, and bands of villains enormously enriched, without one single *hard dollar* ever having been advanced by the latter.

The legislature ought to have *prohibited the issuing of small notes*: it would have done it, but, as several of the members declared, it *dared not*: the people were too much blinded by the love of borrowing and gambling: they thought that that was "*prosperity*," which was only a false glare; and the Assembly could not venture on the *prohibition*, which, as events have proved, there, as well as here, is the only remedy for the evil. And, even you, my Lord Duke, would not now have *dared* to venture on the prohibition, if, fortunately, the small-notes had not been previously banished from the *metropolis*, leaving the Government *immediately surrounded by a population who have a currency of gold*.

The evils of a small paper-money are endless in number, and boundless in their extent; as, indeed, they must be, when that false and fraudulent medium causes the people to be withdrawn from the impartially protecting arm of the sovereign power, and to be abandoned to the mere mercy of selfish private individuals. However, my Lord Duke, thanks to your firmness, this rag-rook

tyranny now approaches its termination. We have a king with high prerogatives, given him for the protection of his people; and we have a band of fellows, called bankers, who have, by unseen degrees, been suffered to usurp the *most important* of these prerogatives; and, besides the direct robberies in the case of *breaking*, constantly exacting a large share of all the profits of trade and agriculture. These bands cannot *create capital* by their presses and paper. They cannot thereby *add to the real capital* of the country. They create nothing *useful*, they add nothing *real*: they invent a *fiction*, but, by the means of that fiction, they lay the whole community under contribution; and, whenever they carry the fiction beyond certain bounds, which their interest incessantly prompts them to do, they endanger the state.

To enforce the salutary law of 1826, you, my Lord Duke, were bound by one consideration, which, with you, was superior to all others; namely, to prevent the *overthrow of the state*, which was constantly liable to take place, in consequence of suffering others to usurp a great prerogative of the King, whose just authority and power it was your first duty to uphold, and from which the safety of the people was inseparable. You are told, and it *may* be so, and I say it *will be so*, that great and terrible embarrassments, to some classes, will arise from your measure, *unless a great reduction of taxes take place*. But it is for the *Parliament* to see to that: let them look to the ability of the people to pay the taxes: it is *your* first and imperative duty, to take care that the people do not suffer from the mis-use, or the non-use, of the prerogatives of the King.

I should not do my duty, if I were, on any occasion like this, to omit to state my conviction, that this measure cannot be carried into effect without dreadful ruin, *unless a very great reduction of taxes take place*. Knowing that what I write is read by a great number of persons, who rely much upon my judgment, I should deem myself almost a traitor in intention, if I were to applaud this measure, without, at the same time, de-

declaring my opinion, that, if it be enforced *without a great reduction of taxes*, it will lead to a terrible convulsion. But, at the same time, I am convinced, that a return to the paper would be still *more dangerous*; that it would lead to *a more terrible convulsion*; for, at any rate, this measure will give us A MONEY; whereas the paper would leave us, in the case of convulsion, without any money at all; the paper would instantly become worth nothing; it would purchase nothing; there would be no sign of value; and all must be confusion, violence, and devastation. So that, in every view of the possible, or probable, consequences, this is the course which duty to King and to people pointed out to the Ministers to pursue.

Here I should have stopped; but, the newspapers having just brought me a PROTEST of two peers against the passing of that Bill, which I petitioned for, I think it right, first to insert, and to remark on, that PROTEST.

PROTEST AGAINST THE THIRD READING OF THE SCOTCH AND IRISH SMALL NOTES BILL.

DISSENTIENT.—Because, to a *wealthy* and commercial state, *encumbered with a great debt*, a paper currency, *measured by a metallic standard*, is the *safest*, as well as the most advantageous, circulation.

It is the *safest*, because in times of panic, or of adverse exchanges, a metallic currency is the *first to disappear* and the *last to return*.

It is the most advantageous, because, in a State so circumstanced, an *extended currency* is an essential part of the *machinery* necessary for *production*; and to compel the producer to use a more *costly*, instead of a *cheaper*, circulation, in the same thing, in effect is to *prohibit the use of improved machinery in manufactures or husbandry*.

(Signed)
July 9, 1828.

FERRERS.
CARNARVON.

Now, let us forbear from ridicule, however strong the temptation to indulge in it. This is the first time, perhaps, that "*wealth*" and "*the encumbrances of great debt*" were ever stated to exist at one and the same time, in any concern, public or private. To be a "*great debt*," it must be great in proportion to the means of the party owing it, and if it be thus great and if it "*encumber*" the party, it remains for

these Noble persons to show *how* it is possible for such party to be "*wealthy*."

For paper-money to be the "*safest*" currency in times of panic and adverse exchanges, it must be *legal tender*, and not convertible into gold on demand. Then, indeed, it is safe from "*disappearing*;" but, these noble persons say, that they mean a paper-money "*measured by a metallic currency*;" that is to say, of course, *convertible into metal*, if this phrase have a meaning. How, then, can it be *safe* in "times of panic, or of adverse exchanges," when we all know, that, in such times, metal will instantly be demanded for it; and that the paper must come to nothing? And, then, the strange assertion, that, in such times, metal is the "*first to disappear, and the last to return!*" On the contrary, the metal never moves; it remains in circulation; and, with it alone there can be *no panics*, and no adverse exchanges which it will not *soon correct*.

What those noble persons mean by an "*extended currency*," I shall not take upon me positively to say; but, from the curious context, we may gather, that they look upon paper-money as *capable of adding to the power of creating valuable things*; which, though a very fashionable notion, is not, on that account, less absurd and monstrous. How is it to give, or to add to any such power? Suppose (a case put by me several years ago) a gentleman, living in a village, to issue in paper (in no matter what form) 100,000*l.* a year for several years, over and above his usual income and spendings; and suppose it to circulate from hand to hand; no doubt that his village, and the country around, will wear the appearance of *greatly increased prosperity*; that new houses will rise up, and all manner of things called "*improvements*." But he must do, at last, one of two things; namely, *break*, and totally ruin and crush the neighbourhood at a blow; or, pay off his paper-debts slowly, *out of his usual solid rents*; and thus reduce the puffed up neighbourhood to beggary, it being now *deprived of the benefit of those usual rents*, which benefit it formerly enjoyed. His paper-money has, indeed, caused, for a

while, superfluous production of some kinds; but, in the end, it *takes just as much from adequate production.*

Thus it is on a national scale: new streets, new palaces, new roads, new bridges, new canals, arise out of paper-money; but, at last, come panics, come blowings up; and, while the nation is plunged into misery, the smooth roads, the gently gliding canals, the lofty domes, the bridges over, and the tunnels under, the rivers, these useless things remain, to remind the beggared people and the sinking state of the cause of their ruin.

And, then, for the *analogy* which these noble persons find, between the "*machine*" of paper-money, and the "*machines employed in manufactures!*" Great are the grounds for *doubting* of the *benefits* even of these; but what *analogy*, good God, is there in the two cases! Paper-money, even according to these noble persons, must *rest on metallic money*: it is, at best, only the *representative* of the metal: in *itself* it contains no powers of production: it must either be *wholly false*, or it must rest on valuable property of some sort: the bits of paper have no *physical* force to move weights, turn wheels, or cause plants to grow; whereas the machines used in manufactures and agriculture do all these things by the physical force that they bring to the aid of man. The power of paper-money depends wholly *upon opinion*: the lightest breath of suspicion annihilates its power; while the powers of the machines used in manufactures and agriculture depend upon no opinion, can be weakened by no suspicion, are well known, fixed, and determinate, requiring only a due application of them to cause them to produce their certain and invariable effects.

Thus, then, I have defended this measure, and, I trust, successfully, against all its opponents, from the very first to the very last. Ever since I clearly understood the nature and effects of paper-money, I have abhorred the accursed thing, and have done every thing in my power to rid my country of it, and of the hands who, by it, fatten on the sweat and blood of the people. When the panic

came I *rejoiced*, because I saw that it must lead to an annihilation of the small notes, or to that of the whole system. That my opinion on this subject might be on record, I presented a petition to the House of Commons, *expressing my gratitude* to it for passing the Act of 1826; and I now express my sincere gratitude to you, my Lord Duke, for your firm adherence to that Act, and for the passing of the Scotch Small-note Act, which, as you properly called it, was a *complement* of the former measure.

That the Rooks, that these bands of insolent blood-suckers, should malign me on account of these my endeavours, is natural enough, though they surely would not do it, if they knew the unspeakable pleasure given me by this mark of their malice and rage; but, that the *ministerial papers* should, on this account, pour forth abuse upon me, calling me a "*political bloodhound*," does not seem quite so natural; unless, indeed, on the supposition, that the proprietors of these very broad concerns fear that I am likely to become their *rival* in the enjoyment of those things, after which their righteous souls are continually thirsting. You have seized by the throat a monster more hideous and more destructive than any that HERCULES ever slew: if you succeed in destroying this monster, you will have the lasting gratitude of millions of men, and, amongst all those millions, of no man more sincerely than of him by whom you are now addressed.

In appreciating the value of my advice, be pleased to reflect, for a moment, on the history and fate of the SINKING-FUND, which I, just twenty-five years ago, *proved* to be what I called it, "*a splendid and mischievous humbug*," and besought the Parliament to get rid of it; for which I was denounced, in the fine old *Anti-Jacobin* style, as "*an enemy of the country*," and that, too, in that very House of Commons, where the humbug has now been put an end to by *acclamation*, and one of the Members of which has expressed his hope, that the words, Sinking-Fund, will never again be *heard in that House!*

Aye, aye, Mr. MABERLY, member of the *free and independent* borough of Abingdon; not "*in that House*," if you like; but these *words* must and shall be again and again heard "*out of doors*," as the insolent phrase is: they must be kept fresh in the minds of a people, brought to ruin and beggary during the existence of a House of Commons that CANNING told us "*worked well*;" and that Mr. ROBINSON told us, caused blessings to be poured out upon us, "*from the portals of an ancient constitutional monarchy*." This was one of the great props of the paper-money monopoly and fraud, which will not long survive this once splendid and applauded, but now beggarly and despised, humbug.

In conclusion of this too long letter, let me beseech you to mark the *rage* which the Rooks evince against you. Their years of abuse on *me* they could safely indulge in, and be, at the same time, the greatest cowards on earth; but to say, and in *print* too, as one of them lately did, in the GLOBE newspaper, under the name of "A SCOTCH BANKER," that, if you persevered in the act of 1826, "*the revolutionary axe, or a cross-road grave, would be your fate*," was indicative of that sort of fury and despair which fill the bosom of the tygress, when she sees both her prey and her young snatched away, while the toils or the bullet has deprived her of the power of revenge. Safely may you set at defiance the wrath of these bands of tame cheaters, at whose fall all good men will rejoice, while all sensible and just men will remember that, from this cruel scourge, the nation owes its deliverance to you.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. O'CONNELL.

I WRITE this on Tuesday, the 15th, and it is not convenient for me to wait longer, this week, for news from Dublin; so that I am unable to inform my readers of the intentions of this gentleman relative to the *time* of his coming to take his seat. On that part of the sub-

ject I remain decided in the opinion that I expressed last week; and, if there had been wanting any thing to confirm me in that opinion, I have it in the endeavours, made by the Whig-organ, the Morning Chronicle, to induce him to postpone this most important step *until next year*.

In the meanwhile I, with great pleasure, observe, that the *silent* entry to Dublin was not *his* work, nor with his *assent*, but *against his wish*; for, in a speech made at the Association-rooms, since his return to Dublin, he is reported to have said (after describing the popular enthusiasm that surrounded him on his road from ENNIS): "*Such was the scene that was continued until I approached the metropolis; and here the spirit of the people would have been equally manifested, but that other arrangements were made*." He then, says the reporter, "*descanted upon the advantages that would have attended a public entry into Dublin*." Well, then, I was correct in my opinion with regard to that private entry; and, if Mr. O'CONNELL put off his coming to England until next year, he will find, that I was equally correct as to that matter.

In the same speech we have from him a declaration, reported in the following words: "*He had been taunted for declaring himself a radical reformer: he did not wish to conceal his sentiments: they wanted justice, and they never could obtain it but from a radical reform of Parliament*."—This is what he and all the Catholics were told *years ago*; and yet it is very notorious, that the Associations, Irish as well as English, praised to the skies, the "*illustrious CANNING*," who declared, in his place in parliament, that he would "*oppose parliamentary reform to the last hour of his life*"; and that they also praised and are daily praising, in votes, as well as speeches, that BURDETT, who stuck his knees in the back of this CANNING, at the very moment when the latter was making this insolent declaration. If Mr. O'CONNELL and the Irish Catholic Association be *sincere*, when they declare that they believe, that they "*never can obtain justice but from a parliamentary reform*," how are they to

account for their conduct in applauding and supporting CANNING as Prime Minister, *after he had made the above declaration*; while they all appear implacable in their hostility to the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, who, though, doubtless, opposed to reform of parliament, has, at any rate, *never insulted the people by such a declaration*? The members of the Association frequently talk of the obstacle presented to their cause by the bigotry of the Protestants of England: they are bigoted, not, however, against the religion or the rights of their fellow-subjects, the Catholics; but unbendingly bigoted against *insincerity*, or, at least, *inconsistency*, so flagrant; and, the main part of them are to be excused if they (though erroneously) look on the Association as *a sample of the whole body of Catholics*. Sincere men do not *tuck about* so suddenly and with such facility; and, let me express my hope, that, when the Association reflects, that the whole Catholic body must be exposed to suffer for its sins, it will be more guarded in its conduct. When the people of England see those who represent themselves as the leaders and organs of the Catholics, passing *votes of thanks* to that BURDETT who has *openly apostatized from the cause of Reform*, no wonder if they draw conclusions disadvantageous to the Catholics, whose cause this BURDETT himself used, for years, to denominate "*a despicable farce*"; no wonder that "*No Burdett*" and "*No Popery*" have been seen, for months together, written on the walls and houses of London.

Another part of Mr. O'CONNELL'S speech is worthy of particular attention: it relates to the once proposed disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, and is reported in the following words: "Two years ago I went to England: I then offered to enter into a treaty: *I offered to tie the Catholic Church to the State by a golden link*: I went further, and I offered, and *God in Heaven forgive me for it*, to give up the forty-shilling franchise! How dare I, then, to talk of myself and of my sacrifices, when I think of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland!

"I offered it then; but, do you think" that any power of England could *now* induce me to make the concession? "Oh, no! Let WELLINGTON and PEEL recollect, that, two years ago, they could have obtained concessions, that I would rather die upon the scaffold than give them now: I will go one step further, and say, that, high as even I stand in the affections of my beloved countrymen, were I now to attempt such a concession, or to aid in its furtherance, the result would be, that the attempt would but bring disgrace upon me: the effort would be a total failure; and it would *entail confusion on me and on every man that assisted me.*"

It was very proper in Mr. O'CONNELL to beg pardon of "*God in Heaven*;" but there was some little matter due to those *men on earth*, and particularly to Mr. RONAYNE, and HIS HUMBLE SERVANT (Mr. LAWLESS having, I hope, already been apologised to,) whom he and his partizans and his press had covered with every species of calumny, *for having thwarted him in his efforts to do that*, for having offered to do which, he *now begs pardon of the Almighty*. By our writings, and by Mr. HUNT'S judicious and resolute conduct at the *Westminster Meeting*, the *disfranchise scheme* was defeated. It was I, who, by rousing the people against the project, saved Ireland from irretrievable subjugation; and I cannot hear all these just praises on the priests and on the forty-shilling freeholders of Clare; I hear them, indeed, with delight that I cannot express; I am, in common with all England, filled with admiration at the spirit and the virtue of those men: but, I cannot hear these praises, I cannot hear these forty-shilling freeholders thus praised by Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. SHIEL, without reflecting on the EVIDENCE of those gentlemen given before the House of Lords, in which evidence (on indelible record) they SWORE, that the forty-shilling freeholders were *unworthy to be intrusted with the right of voting*, and that it would be a *good to the men themselves to take the right from them*! It is very good to beg

pardon of "*God in Heaven*" for having thus **SWORN**; but, it is not so very good to omit to make some sort of mention of those *men on earth*, who saved the poor forty-shilling freeholders from the consequences of this **SWEARING**, and, who saved these gentlemen themselves from everlasting infamy.

It is curious, too, that Mr. O'CONNELL, at the same time that he is imploring "*God in Heaven*" to forgive him for his offer to disfranchise his poor countrymen, should express such bitter, and apparently unprovoked, resentment against "*Wellington and Peel*," who, at the time alluded to, belonged to a ministry that **REJECTED THE WICKED OFFER**! If, indeed, he were thus bitter against BURDETT, BROUGHAM, PLUNKETT, and many others, all of whom were **FOR** the disfranchisement, and none of whom have given the least sign of repentance, his bitterness would be indicative of sincerity; but he *applauds*, and *votes thanks* to, these men, while his invectives against the **DUKE OF WELLINGTON** are as vehement and as acrimonious as they appear to be destitute of rational foundation, the **DUKE** being the only prime minister that has ever said, that "*the time might come*" "when it would be proper to make the concessions that the Catholics wished for, and were anxious to obtain."

I do not wish to carry further, at present, my remarks upon this subject; but, in spite of the forbearing bent of my mind, my hand clings to paper, and will go on to express my regret and surprise to find, that, on Monday, the 14th of July, Mr. O'CONNELL was to be at a **CLUB** at **LOUTH**, instead of being in a **Legislative House** in **LONDON**; that he was gone off to the *North* of Ireland, instead of being coming to the *South* of England; and that, instead of hastening to face those whom he had denounced as the cruel enemies of his ill-treated countrymen, he was gone to glut his ears with the cheers of those countrymen, always too forgiving, too generous, too grateful, and, alas! too easily deluded.

N. B. I have received a letter, *franked* by Mr. O'CONNELL, and dated from Li-

merick, 12th July, charged 2s. 8d. *postage*, having on it the post-mark, "*Above the privileged number*;" and, therefore, I have not taken it; for, though I have no objection to Mr. O'CONNELL's enjoying the glory of franking, I have a great objection to be made to *pay for it*. I have occasionally, and, indeed, very frequently (more than twice a week), received franked letters, during *twenty-eight years*; that is to say, I have received more, I am sure, than three thousand *franks*, and this is the *first* time that I ever received a frank with this stamp of worthlessness upon it. Long observation has taught me (and taught us all, indeed) how difficult it is for law-givers to bridle the *tongue*; but, surely, they may restrain the *hand* from transgressing limits arithmetically prescribed by the law.

BUDGET.—SINKING FUND.

REMARKS on these subjects have been so well made in a country paper, called the "**BRIGHTON GUARDIAN**," that I have only to quote them. This is almost the only *country* paper, which is not a slave of the **UNPAID**, or of the **ROOKS**, or, which is generally the case, **OF BOTH**.

THE BUDGET.—The Budget, as it is regularly called, has been brought forward, presenting a very *flattering state and prospect* of the nation's financial affairs; and, what Budget ever failed to do this, during the many, many years that we have been getting deeper and deeper into debt and distress, not excepting the Budget which came out only three months before the *stoppage of the Bank in 1797*! These annual statements are always delusive; whether from sanguineness in the parties making them, from the ignorance of those parties, or from settled design, they are *always delusive*. They are founded on materials, over which the makers of the statements have an *absolute control*. No vouchers are produced; no written document liable to any check, or even capable of being examined; the prospective parts of these Budgets are vague, and are contingent as to their results; and, in short, the

whole thing seems intended to quiet the minds of the ignorant part of the people; that is to say, ignorant with regard to such matters, and these are necessarily a vast majority of the people. In the United States of America, the **BUDGET** (not so called there) is an annual statement of the financial affairs of the country, not consisting of *speech*, the report of which may be true or false; but of a *Report* of the Treasury Secretary, made to the President, and laid by the latter before the Congress, and by the Congress ordered to be printed and circulated throughout the country. This Report is founded on *vouchers*, produced to the Congress; and it is, in short, the nation's *Ledger* for the year, as easily inspected and verified as the year's accounts of any merchant in London. Accordingly we see, that there is no *increase of Debt*, no *heavy taxes*, and no *misery* in that country; and we also see, that, *there*, a debt has been nearly **PAID OFF** and the evidence of it destroyed; while *here*, there has been, every year for **FORTY** years past, a statement made to the Parliament, in which statement, called the *Budget*, the financial affairs of the country have been represented to be in the most *flourishing* state, in which its resources have been described as *greater than ever*, and in which the nation has been pictured as more and more *prosperous*, and more and more *powerful* in comparison with the other nations of the world; and, during these forty years, the annual taxes have been swelled in amount from sixteen to sixty millions; and the interest of the Debt has increased from *eight and a half* to *thirty-two* millions; in addition to which there has been created a *Dead-weight Debt*, the interest of which is *six* millions a year, making, in the forty years of prosperity, the annual interest of Debt swell from *eight and a half* to *thirty-eight* millions. In these same forty years of flowery Budgets, the *poor-rates* have swelled from *two and a quarter* millions a year to *eight* millions a year; bank-notes have degenerated from *ten pounds* in amount to *one pound*; the bankruptcies and insolvencies have increased from an average of a few

hundreds in a year to *ten thousand* in a year; the *jails* have been augmented *tenfold* in capaciousness; *crime* has kept pace with the augmentation of that space; and misery, such as men, who were men forty years ago, never dreamed of, is now the common lot of the labouring people, who, forty years ago, lived in comfort and decency, but whose general appearance now, whether in their persons or their dwellings, is that of dejected and half-famished hinds. Such, including the *most fearful forebodings for the future*, have been the contemporaries of forty, or forty-two successive annual Budgets, every one of which has represented the *prosperity* and *power* and *glory* of the country as on the *increase*; and, in the last of which *prosperous* and *glorious* years, we beheld the French in quiet military possession of Spain,—Portugal setting us at defiance,—Turkey about to be parcelled out amongst Russia, Austria, and France,—the Gulf of Mexico in the hands of the Americans,—a fleet building by them to drive us from the Ocean,—and under all this, we behold our Government perfectly quiescent. This is the state at which this once really great nation has arrived at the end of forty flattering and boasting Budgets. At what state it will arrive by the time it has been treated to a few more such Budgets, is much easier to imagine than it would be pleasant to describe.

SINKING FUND.—As a specimen of the *means*, by which the country has been reduced to its present state, and as one proof amongst a thousand, that the House of Commons "*works well*" and stands in *no need of reforming*, this *Fund* has now, in that House itself, and by the Ministers too, been acknowledged to be *useless*, to have been *always useless*, and, in fact, to have been a delusion; while some of the Members have declared, that it has produced *a loss to the nation of more than sixty millions of money!* This *Fund* is now, at the end of *forty-two* years, to be put an end to, after the *Chancellorship of the Exchequer*, and the *Secretaryship of the Treasury*, under which the *Fund* has been carried on, have given us *seven*

Right Hon. Privy Counsellors, three Baronets, and two Viscounts, who, all together, received, and who and whose descendants are still receiving annually, a sum of public money more than equal to all the sums which, in the same space of time, have been received by the President, all the Officers of State, and all the Ambassadors of the great and wise American Republic. Statesmen and Legislators, as well as other men, are liable to *error*; though in them it is less excusable, because to become such is their own voluntary act, and because they do, by fair implication, assert that they are fully qualified for the trust which they obtain. But, at any rate, is not the space of *forty-two years* rather long to continue in error? and especially when that error, as well as its monstrous mischiefs, were, from the very first of the forty-two years, pointed out and proved, by many writers, some one or other of whom has reported the proof every year from that in which the delusion began, to the year in which it is to be put an end to? Will it, after this, be said, that this sort of House of Commons *“works well!”* Will any man say, that he believes that such a thing could have been carried on for forty-two years, if the House of Commons had been chosen by the *people at large*? If there be any man to say these things, for that man we have no compassion, be to him the ruinous consequences what they may.

THE FUNDHOLDERS.

On the 7th instant, during a debate on the *Ordnance Estimates*, Sir JOSEPH YORKE said, in opposition to Mr. HUME; who wanted reduction under this head, something about the fundholders, that appears to have called forth very animated protestations.

“Sir J. YORKE,—My hon. friend says, “You must retrench;” so say I, but let it be done consistently with the safety of the State from its foreign and domestic enemies. This Report has done nothing, and I don’t care how soon we arrive at the last act of the comedy,

“for all Committees upon such a subject have been but comedies. We must, at all events, keep up our productive establishments; and if my honourable friend insists upon retrenchment, let the interest of the Debt be paid out of the residue of our income, after the necessary expenses, in such aliquot parts as would come to each one’s share.

“Mr. MABERLY protested in the strongest terms against the suggestion just thrown out by the Hon. Member.—(Hear, hear.) What! tax the fundholders exclusively for the burdens of the State.—(Hear.) If these monstrous establishments were to be kept up, let them be paid by a general tax; but it would be the grossest injustice to lean upon any one class exclusively. The fundholders had lent their money to Government, and they ought to be repaid. He hoped the House would at once express its disapprobation of the sentiment expressed by the Honourable Member.—(Hear.)

“Mr. MONCK deprecated the sentiment as one of the worst breaches of national faith that could be committed.—(Hear.) If it was the Hon. Member’s object to propound the principle that good faith may be kept with the public creditor only so long as it was convenient, the House was bound to express their dissent from it on the spot.—(Hear.)

“Sir JOSEPH YORKE.—I meant no such thing. Knowing what an eminent aliquotician the Hon. Member (Mr. Maberly) was, I put it to him, that if the income was only a given sum, and that the public service was to be supported, the balance must be divided amongst the public creditors. Thus, if our income was 50,000,000*l.*, and that the Army, Navy, the Judges &c. cost 26,000,000*l.* of that, a dividend of the remainder must be made amongst the public creditors. I only say that, under all the circumstances, that force which protects the country against its foreign and domestic enemies must be kept up undiminished.

“Mr. Secretary PEEL.—My Hon. Friend behind me (Sir. J. Yorke)

"knows the sincere respect that I entertain for him; but with all that I cannot listen to what has just fallen from him without protesting strongly against it.—(Cheers.) Circumstances may arise to render it necessary for a country to make *a great effort*, which may exceed the ordinary taxation of the year; but, if such an effort is to be supported by taxation, it ought to be by imposing equal burdens, and not by selecting any particular class for imposition.—(Hear.) His Hon. Friend had either made no proposition, or he had made a very illiberal one.

"Sir JOSEPH YORKE.—I make none.

"Mr. PEEL hoped that, if burdens were to be imposed, they would be upon the community at large, and not by selecting the fundholders.—(Hear, hear.)

"Mr. HUME said that this was the first time that he had heard the Hon. Member opposite had given an opinion *contrary to justice*—(hear); but he must say that this proposition was nothing less than a *downright robbery*. It was *to avoid such a contingency* as that to which the Hon. Member alluded that he would press for *retrenchment*."

This is really an interesting debate. Here are a pretty little nut-shell of *protestations*! Go on, noble Duke, with the *small-note bill*; adhere you to *that*, and let these gentlemen adhere to *this*, and we shall be all right in a very short time. I wonder whether Sir JAMES GRAHAM, of Netherby, son of John with the Bright Sword, were in the House while these laudable and solemn protestations were making; because he proposed, in a pamphlet under his own name, *that thirty per cent. should be taken from the interest of the fundholders, without imposing any new tax on any body else!* Ah! but he has thought better of the matter since! Oh, no! We will not see our fellow-subjects, the poor fundholders, "*robbed*," as Mr. HUME calls it. We will see no "*breach of national faith*." The fundholders ought to be *repaid*," as Mr. MABERLY pointedly observes. In short, the in-

terest of the Debt must continue to be paid in full tale and in gold, and not in Sir JOSEPH YORKE'S "*aliquot*" dividends of "*remainders*." Adieu, friends: you have got a *puzzler*; and much good may it do you!

ERRORS

IN THE LAST REGISTER.

PEOPLE will readily excuse *some* errors in a publication, of which the writer cannot, or does not, correct the press himself; and, in general I do not attach importance enough to the matter, to induce me to trouble my readers with corrections; but, the following marr the *sense* so materially, that I must do it in this particular case, the like of which, seeing that my manuscript is *as plain as print itself*, I do hope will not occur again.

In page 48, last line but one of the first paragraph of the postscript, for *niche* read *inch*.

In page 53, fifth line from the bottom of the middle paragraph, for *now* read *not*. This was a monstrous error, to say that, when all the Rooks had been destroyed, "*now a caw will be heard*."

In page 54, middle of second paragraph, instead of *possessions* read *professions*; and, one would have thought, that the printers must have known, that I could not mean, that the ever-accursed Rooks drew large sums every year "out of the incomes proceeding from *POSSESSIONS* and from *LAND*."

The Woodlands; or, a Treatise

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods; — DESCRIBING the usual growth and size, and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out; — THE TREES being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin name being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

This work is now finished, consisting of seven Numbers, at two shillings a Number; or the whole, neatly bound in boards, forming one octavo volume of about three hundred and forty pages, on fine paper, and good-sized print, at fifteen shillings. I wrote this work because I knew of no work on the subject which was any thing like being complete. I had read all the books, French and English, that I could find relating to this subject. I found some writers to give me the mere botany of each tree; others to describe its ornamental merits; others to tell me its qualities as timber; others to speak of the ground that the tree delights in; others treated of the act of planting; others of pruning and cultivation; but no book, that I could find, told me *every thing that I ought to know*, from the gathering of the seed to the rearing up and cutting down of the tree. This is what I have now done; and I venture to pronounce my book complete, as far as relates to the subjects propounded in the title-page. Ninety-nine out of every hundred failures in the rearing of plantations, whether of Timber-trees or Underwood, arise from the want of knowledge in the owner himself. These owners are Lords, private gentlemen, opulent merchants or traders, or gentlemen of the learned

professions. Few of any of these, even if they had the leisure, will read scores of volumes on the subject of planting; and if they were to undertake it, the confused manner of the writers, the want of clear explanation, and of convenient arrangement, would soon produce disgust not to be overcome. I have made a moderate sized book, written in so plain a manner, as to be read and understood at once; and as to enable almost any man, though he may have lived in a city all his lifetime, to understand the subject well. I postponed the finishing of the work until now, because there remained some most valuable experiments which I had not an opportunity of making until last summer. I have now concluded an account of the result of these experiments; and I put the book out of my hand, pronouncing it to be the only complete one of the kind that ever appeared in print; and this I do, laughing, by anticipation, at all the charges of egotism and the like.

GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS
OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The Members of the above Association will hold their first public Meeting on Monday Evening, July 21st. 1823, at seven o'clock precisely, at the Mechanics' Institution, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, for which purpose the Theatre has been engaged;

DANIEL FRENCH, Esq., in the Chair;

to take into consideration the necessary steps for the promotion of those principles upon which DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., offered himself for the Representation of the County of Clare in the Commons House of Parliament; when the attendance of every friend to the cause is solicited.

W. E. Andrews.
John Cooper.
G. A. Lane.
E. Dias Santos.
Richard Orpwood.

J. R. Fitzgerald.
John Grady.
Daniel Sullivan.
Miles Walsh.

Books will be opened to receive Subscriptions towards indemnifying such Freeholders as may be persecuted by their Landlords for independently exercising the elective franchise.

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